ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE JEWS

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"THE HEBREWS IN AMERICA"

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LINCOLN AND THE JEWS.

Since the name of Abraham Lincoln has been linked with no stirring event in connection with American Judaism it follows that the subject "Lincoln and the Jews," may possibly be lacking in the essentials demanding treatment at the hands of the critical historian. Nevertheless, as a student of the great war President the writer has been impressed by the vast amount of interesting material bearing upon his relations to the Jews, which it occurs to him is worthy of compilation and preservation. A contribution of this character seems specially fitting at the present time in view of the centenary of the one whose gaunt figure towers above all others in the galaxy of American heroes—"the first of our countrymen to reach the lonely heights of immortal fame."

The Jews of the United States formed but a small portion of the population in Lincoln's time. The President of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, their representative organization, estimated their number in the loyal States near the close of 1861 at not less than 200,000, which figures are now regarded as excessive. The Rev. Isaac Leeser as late as 1865 could not figure the entire Jewish population of the United States as exceeding 200,000, although he admitted that double that number had been estimated by others.

Political sentiment was then divided and found expression largely through the *Occident,* a monthly, published by Rev. Isaac Leeser in Philadelphia; the *Jewish Messenger,* a weekly, conducted by Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs in New York, and the *Israelite,* a weekly, edited by Rev. Isaac M. Wise in Cincinnati. Rabbis and laymen of learning and eloquence were

conspicuous in the political arena, both by voice and pen and to some of these we shall refer. Arrayed with the party represented by Lincoln was Rabbi David Einhorn, who published in Baltimore a German monthly called *Sinai,* devoted to the anti-slavery movement. Rabbi Isaacs unreservedly favored the preservation of the Union and the policy of Lincoln. In Philadelphia Rabbi Sabato Morais proved such a potential factor in rousing patriotic sentiment that he was elected an honorary member of the Union League Club of that city. Rabbi Liebman Adler of Chicago, besides patriotic appeals to his countrymen, sent his only son to serve in the ranks of an Illinois regiment. Dr. Abraham B. Arnold of Baltimore, arrayed himself with the Republican party on the election of Lincoln and was made a member of the State Executive Committee of Maryland. A former Assistant United States District Attorney of New York, Philip J. Joachimsen, who had secured the first conviction for slave trading, was a warm admirer of Lincoln and raised a regiment of troops which rendered good service.

The pro-slavery faction, by no means insignificant in numbers, had few leaders, their most earnest advocate being Rabbi Morris J. Raphall, of New York, author of *Post-Biblical History of the Jews.* In a pamphlet entitled *Bible View of Slavery,* published shortly after Lincoln's election, he sought to show that the "Divine Institution" had Scriptural sanction, a proposition by no means original, Rev. Leander Ker of Missouri having taken the same ground as early as 1853 in a book, *Slavery Sanctioned by the Bible.* Mr. Leeser, while sustaining Raphall, deplored his utterances as untimely, and Michael Heilprin in an article in the *New York Tribune* completely demonstrated the fallacy of Raphall's contention.

Writing from Philadelphia to the *Israelite* on January 13, 1861, Rabbi Wise said it was "not so much the election of Lincoln in itself that threatened the destruction of the Union as the speeches of Lincoln and his colleagues on the irre-

pressible conflict doctrine." This was coupled with a tribute to President Buchanan, the then occupant of the White House, who from Rabbi Wise's standpoint "has shown himself to be a full statesman and only now are the North appreciating his conservative administration." While deprecating the threatened dissolution of the Union Rabbi Wise indulged in frequent humorous flings at Lincoln after his election, comparing him to "a country squire who would look queer in the White House with his primitive manner." He also protested against his entertainment while passing through Cincinnati on his way to Washington. Later on his admiration for Lincoln was unbounded. In the course of an address following the President's death and published in the Cincinnati *Commercial* of April 20, 1865, he thus attempted to prove that he was one of the chosen people: "Abraham Lincoln believed himself to be bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. He supposed himself to be of Hebrew parentage, *he said so in my presence,* and indeed he possessed the common features of the Hebrew race both in countenance and features." As a matter of fact Lincoln's knowledge of his ancestry was vague—so much so that his statement to Dr. Wise must be accepted as nothing more than a bit of pleasantry. Hon. Robert T. Lincoln states in reply to an inquiry of the writer, that he had "never before heard that his father supposed he had any Jewish ancestry."

Lincoln's policy was severely attacked in the California State Convention of the Breckinridge party held at Sacramento on June 11, 1861, by Solomon Heydenfeldt, a brilliant jurist of that State and a native of South Carolina. An example of his attitude appears in the published proceedings of that convention, wherein he refers in the course of the debates to "the Democrats of the Eastern States struggling against the tyranny of the administration, their voices being drowned by the music of Lincoln's drums."

President Lincoln's administration was marked by a few noteworthy incidents affecting the Jews as a body, the most important being the appointment of a Jewish chaplain in 1861-62, and the proposed expulsion of the Jews "as a class" from within the lines of General Grant's army in 1862-63. Here it may be proper to note that the President on two occasions was sharply reproved by the Jews for the objectionable phraseology of his State papers.

In his first inaugural orders he declared:

> Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way our present difficulty.

In his "General Order Respecting the Observation of the Sabbath Day in the Army and Navy," issued November 15, 1862, he announced:

> The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiments of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine will demand that Sunday labor in the Army and Navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity.

This order provoked more or less public discussion and elicited a lengthy address to the President from one B. Behrend, of Narrowsburg, N. Y., the father of a Jewish soldier in the service, on the ground that "thousands in the army who celebrate another day as Sunday should be allowed to celebrate that day which they think is the right day according to their own consciences." The *Occident* shared in these views and urged that Jewish soldiers should be free from unnecessary work on their Sabbath. While the alleged sectarian character of these compositions subjected the President to considerable criticism, his utterances were soon lost sight of in the more stirring events of the day.

In the United States Senate May 22, 1860, Judah P. Benjamin spoke in scathing terms of Stephen A. Douglas and

lauded Lincoln, the question under consideration being certain measures introduced by Jefferson Davis on the subject of State Rights and Slavery. Benjamin's address on this occasion occupies several pages of the *Congressional Globe, 1859-60,* Part III. The Senator from Louisiana therein charged Douglas with inconsistency and evasion in his debates with Lincoln, referred to his Jonesboro address as "nonsense" and says Douglas copied from Lincoln's dispute with him. Lincoln had just been nominated for the Presidency. The nomination of Douglas was still in the balance. How far he had lost caste with the Southern leaders is evidenced by this excoriation by Benjamin:

I have been obliged to pluck down my idol from his place on high, and to refuse him any more support or confidence as a member of the Democratic party. His adversary stood upon principle and was beaten, and lo! he is a candidate of a mighty party for the Presidency of the United States. One stood on principle—was defeated. To-day where stands he? The other faltered—received the prize, but to-day where stands he? He is a fallen star; we have separated from him.

Referring further to the joint debates and more especially to Lincoln's declarations at Freeport in reply to interrogations of Douglas, regarding his position in the slavery question, he further complimented Lincoln in these words:

In that contest, the candidates for the Senate of the United States in the State of Illinois went before the people. They agreed to discuss the issue; they put questions to each other for answer, and I must say here, for I must be just to all, that I have been surprised in the examination that I have made again within the last few days of this discussion between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, to find that Mr. Lincoln is a far more conservative man, unless he has since changed his opinions, than I had supposed him to be. There was no dodging on his part. It is impossible not to admire the perfect candor and frankness with which his answers are given—no equivocation, no evasion.

The Appointment of a Jewish Army Chaplain.

The Jewish Chaplain question was a matter of some significance and grew out of the refusal of Secretary of War Simon Cameron in the fall of 1861 to grant the application of Rev. Dr. Arnold Fischel for appointment as Chaplain of the Cameron Dragoons, a New York regiment largely composed of Jews, Fischel being informed by Cameron that favorable consideration of his application was impossible on account of an Act passed by Congress a few months previous and duly approved by the President, which provided that "chaplains must be regular ordained ministers of some Christian denomination."

This barrier to the appointment of a Chaplain gave rise to a widespread agitation in which many prominent men took part, including Lewis N. Dembitz, of Louisville, who had voted for Lincoln in the Republican National Convention of 1860; Alfred T. Jones, of Philadelphia; Joseph Abrahams, of Cincinnati; Jacob Kantrowitz, of Columbus, Ind.; Felix Deutsch, of Franklin, Ind.; E. Fleischmann, of Iowa City; Martin Bijur, of Louisville; S. Rosenthal, of Albany, N. Y., and Rev. B. H. Gotthelf, of Louisville. They demanded that the Act of Congress be made to conform with their plain constitutional rights, "those rights" they urged "for which the bones of many of our brethren in faith are now mouldering on the banks of the Potomac." The New York *Journal of Commerce* and Baltimore *Clipper* sided with the Jews.

At this juncture the Board of Delegates of American Israelites took up the matter and through Senator Ira Harris and Representative Frederick Conkling, both of New York, petitioned Congress, protesting that the existing Act was "prejudicial discrimination against a patriotic class of citizens on account of their religious belief" and demanding its repeal. At the same time they addressed the President urging the appointment of a Jewish Chaplain to each of the military

departments. This the President was unable to do, declaring his intention, however, to recommend Congress to modify the law as it stood. Dr. Fischel spent some time in Washington endeavoring to secure the repeal of the objectionable law.

On December 11, 1861, he reported to the Board of Delegates the result of his efforts thus far. This is printed in the article, "A Jewish Army Chaplain," by Myer S. Isaacs, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* No. 12, 1904.

On the following day Dr. Fischel again called at the White House in accordance with the President's invitation but failed to see him. On December 14, 1861, the President wrote to Dr. Fischel:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 14, 1861.

Rev. Dr. A. Fischel.

MY DEAR SIR: I find that there are several particulars in which the present law in regard to Chaplains is supposed to be deficient, all of which I now design presenting to the appropriate Committee of Congress. I shall try to have a new law broad enough to cover what is desired by you in behalf of the Israelites.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

The proceedings which followed in Congress were without noteworthy incident. Mr. Trumbull of Illinois at the request of Rabbi Isidor Kalisch, of Indianapolis, presented a numerously signed petition in the Senate and J. Friedenreich, of Baltimore, secured 7000 signatures, mostly of Christians to another. Numerous members of the Legislature of Maryland also memorialized Congress urging a change in the existing law. Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia also addressed a letter to the President. Final action by Congress was deferred until March 12, 1862, when the Act was amended so as to authorize the employment of Brigade Chaplains, "one or more of which shall be of the Catholic, Protestant or Jewish religion." Meanwhile Dr. Fischel conducted services for the Jewish Hospital in Virginia until April, 1862. Subsequently the President

appointed as Hospital Chaplains Rev. Jacob Frankel, of Philadelphia; Rev. B. H. Gotthelf, of Louisville, and Dr. Ferdinand Sarner of the 54th New York Infantry. Dr. Sabato Morais, of Philadelphia, had previously declined an appointment as Chaplain.

Dr. Kalisch, in the third year of the war, aspired to a chaplaincy, his sponsor being Adolph Dessar, a prominent citizen of Indianapolis, and a close friend of John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior in Lincoln's cabinet. Mr. Usher's efforts were unavailing as appears from the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
WASHINGTON, October 16, 1863.

Ad. Dessar, Esq.

DEAR SIR: I made inquiry of the President to-day respecting the appointment of Post Chaplain, and was advised by him that the public service did not at present require the appointment of any more; but that if occasion should happen requiring the appointment of additional chaplains he should be happy to consider, with the many other applications, the claims of your friend, Rev. Mr. Isidore Kalisch.

Very truly yours,
J. P. USHER.

GENERAL GRANT'S ORDER NO. ELEVEN.

The edict of General Grant, known as Order No. 11, excluding the Jews, as a class, from within the lines of his army, naturally aroused a storm of indignation. Grant's first manifesto appeared at Lagrange, Tenn., on November 9, 1862, in the form of instructions to Gen. Hurlbut to refuse all permits to come south of Jackson, Tenn., adding "the Israelites especially should be kept out." He next issued orders to Gen. Webster, referring to the Jews as "an intolerable nuisance." He also reported to the War Department that "the Jews roam through the country contrary to the government regulations." Finally on December 17 he issued a general order expelling all Jews as a class "from his Department within 24 hours." Cincinnati and Paducah became the storm centres of the

Jewish uprisings mainly by reason of their proximity to Grant's field of operations, and the agitation eventually extended to the halls of Congress. Rabbi Wise, in the *Israelite,* demanded the recall of the order on the ground that "the President had an oath registered in Heaven to enforce the laws," and he urged that justice should be demanded from the chief magistrate of the country. Capt. Ferdinand Levy, of Company H, Battalion New York Volunteers, wrote to *The Jewish Messenger* urging that the President compel General Grant to apologize or dismiss him from the service.

While the Jews of Cincinnati, under the lead of Rabbi I. M. Wise were devising means to reach the President, their co-religionists at Paducah were equally active. After several conferences they transmitted the following appeal to the President, the signers being among the leading merchants of the town.

PADUCAH, KY., Dec. 29, 1862.

Hon. Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

General Order No. 11 issued by General Grant at Oxford, Miss., December the 17th, commands all post commanders to expel all Jews without distinction within twenty-four hours from his entire Department. The undersigned good and loyal citizens of the United States and residents of this town, for many years engaged in legitimate business as merchants, feel greatly insulted and outraged by this inhuman order; the carrying out of which would be the grossest violation of the Constitution and our rights as good citizens under it, and would place us, besides a large number of other Jewish families of this town, as outlaws before the world. We respectfully ask your immediate attention to this enormous outrage on all law and humanity and pray for your effectual and immediate interposition. We would especially refer you to the post commander and post adjutant as to our loyalty, and to all respectable citizens of this community as to our standing as citizens and merchants. We respectfully ask for immediate instructions to be sent to the Commander of this Post.

D. WOLFF & BROS.
C. J. KASKEL.
J. W. KASKEL.

It was determined to send a representative of the Jewish community to Washington to communicate with the President in person, and for that purpose Ceasar J. Kaskel, one of the signers of the appeal, a vice-president of the Paducah Union League Club and one of the most respected merchants of the town, was selected.

Ceasar Kaskel was a native of Prussia. When Grant's General Order No. 11 was issued he was in his thirtieth year. J. W. Kaskel, another signer of the appeal, was his brother. A record of the Paducah proceedings was preserved by the latter, now living at Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, N. Y., from which we learn that Ceasar Kaskel at once left Paducah by steamer for Cairo. While en route he prepared a full account of the affair which on reaching Cairo was furnished to the agent of the Associated Press, this being the first newspaper report given to the country.

Kaskel, says the *Israelite,* took with him letters from Rabbi Max Lilienthal, and Daniel Wolf, a prominent Cincinnati merchant, to influential parties in Washington and arrived at the National Capital on the evening of January 3, 1863. Accompanied by Representative Gurley of Ohio the two at once sought an audience with the President, reaching the White House at about dusk. Announcing their presence, with an apology for calling at such an hour, the President sent word that he was "always glad to see his friends," and shortly made his appearance. On learning the object of their visit he remarked:

And so the children of Israel were driven from the happy land of Canaan?

Kaskel replied:

Yes, and that is why we have come unto Father Abraham's bosom, asking protection.

Lincoln responded:

And this protection they shall have at once.

Then seating himself at a table the President penned an

order to General Halleck requesting his visitors to deliver it at once.

"You may leave for home at once if you wish," said General Halleck to Kaskel on reading Lincoln's instructions, "and before you reach there Grant's order will have been revoked."

Kaskel that same night started back to Paducah, and arriving there was surprised to learn that the order of revocation had not yet been promulgated.

"By whose orders do you return?" demanded the Post Commander, on learning of Kaskel's presence in town.

"By order of the President of the United States," replied Kaskel.

Halleck's instructions to Grant, it appears, had been delayed in transmission and the latter's revocation was not issued until January 7, 1863. Two weeks later, January 21, Halleck wrote to Grant:

> The President has no objection to your expelling traitors and Jew peddlers which I suppose was the object of your order, but as it in terms proscribed an entire religious class, some of whom are fighting in our ranks, the President deems it necessary to revoke it.

Dr. Wise is authority for the statement that Halleck would not believe in the existence of Grant's order until Kaskel showed him the official copy.

Before the result of Kaskel's mission became known Rabbis Wise and Lilienthal, accompanied by Edgar M. Johnson, a lawyer of Cincinnati, Martin Bijur, a lawyer of Louisville, and Abraham Goldsmith, a merchant of Paducah, had gone to Washington. Learning of Kaskel's success on the way they determined nevertheless to complete the journey in order to express their thanks to the President for his prompt action. Rabbi Wise, in the *Israelite,* gave an interesting account of their interview.

> We went to the White House in our traveling habiliments and spoke about half an hour to the President of the United States in an open and frank manner and were dismissed in the same simple

style. Having expressed our thanks for his promptness and despatch in revoking Grant's order the President gave utterance to his surprise that such an order should have been issued. "I don't like to see a class or nationality condemned on account of a few sinners," he said. The President fully convinced us that he knows of no distinction between Jews and Gentiles and that he feels no prejudice against any nationality and especially against the Israelites. We had little chance to say anything, the President being so splendidly eloquent on this occasion. He spoke like a simple, plain citizen and tried in various forms to convince us of the sincerity of his words on this matter.

Pending a settlement of the matter, Representative George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, who the following year figured as the running mate of George B. McClellan, Lincoln's rival for the Presidency, introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives condemning Grant's action "as well as that of the President as commander-in-chief of the Amy and Navy," which was laid on the table. Unmindful of the success of Kaskel's mission, Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, offered a resolution in the Senate on January 5, 1863, condemning Grant's order as "illegal, tyrannical, cruel and unjust;" but inasmuch as the order had been revoked, objection was raised to its consideration, and Senators Hale, of New Hampshire and Sumner, of Massachusetts urged that the resolution be tabled.

Mr. Powell, according to the *Congressional Globe,* then addressed the Senate. He had in his possession, he said, documents that would go to establish the fact beyond the possibility of a doubt that some thirty Jewish gentlemen, residents of Paducah, were driven from their homes and their business by virtue of this order of General Grant. They had only the short notice of four and twenty hours. The Jewish women and children of the city were expelled under that order. Not a Jew, man, woman or child was left, except two women who were prostrate on beds of sickness. He added:

If we tamely submit to allow the military power thus to encroach on the rights of the citizens who shall be setting a bad and most pernicious example to those in command of our Army.

He urged the passage of the resolution. It would be of the greatest importance particularly at that time when the constitutional rights of the citizens were being trodden under foot by the executive and military power.

General Grant might just as well expel the Baptists or the Methodists or the Episcopalians or the Catholics as a class, as to expel the Jews. All are alike protected in the enjoyment of their religion by the Constitution of our country. They are inoffensive citizens and it was set forth in papers that he had before him that two of the Jews that were expelled had served three months in the Army of the United States in defence of the Union cause.

It may be that some Jews in General Grant's department had been guilty of illegal traffic; if so, expel those who violate the law and punish them.

Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, moved that the resolution be indefinitely postponed, believing that it would be unwise to condemn General Grant unheard. Mr. Anthony, of Kansas, suggested that a better disposition would be to refer it to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, followed. He declared that no man in the Senate approved Grant's order, that as soon as it was called to the attention of the President of the United States it was promptly revoked, and there the matter ended. He agreed with Mr. Clark, that Grant should not be condemned unheard. He considered the order unwise, unjust and utterly indefensible; but the rights of these people having been promptly vindicated he hoped the matter would be dropped. Senator Hale then moved to lay Mr. Powell's resolution on the table and this was done by a vote of 30 to 7, thus disposing of further Congressional action.

Two Cincinnati newspapers, the *Enquirer* and the *Volksfreund,* were outspoken in condemnation of Grant. The Philadelphia *Ledger* opened its columns to persons who severely censured Grant, while the *Inquirer* of the same city declined to publish articles derogatory of the Federal Commander. John W. Forney, Secretary of the United States Senate, and

editor of the *Washington Chronicle,* defended General Grant, saying:

> If there was no good reason, there was at least some excuse for the promulgation of the order.

The *Occident* commended the President's action:

> Fortunately he would not be the instrument of such a cruel order and the majority in Congress deserve the condemnation due them for disregard of their obligations as conservators of the rights of the people, which ought to be safe under the guarantees of the Constitution.

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites adopted resolutions thanking Halleck for revoking Grant's order "in the name of the Hebrews of this country." Dr. Wise vehemently protested against this, describing the resolution as "a species of insanity," as "Halleck only carried out the order of the President who deserves thanks for his promptness in the affair."

Did Grant issue his obnoxious edict of his own volition, or at the behest of higher authority? The *Cincinnati Commercial,* after the affair was over, published a communication intimating that Grant had acted on orders from Washington. The *Israelite* was of the opinion that such an order could have come only from Stanton or Chase, since the President and Halleck absolutely maintained that they knew nothing of it until seventeen days after it was issued.

General Grant, in his *Personal Memoirs,* makes no reference to Order No. 11. An explanation of his silence may be found in the following letter dated Governor's Island, N. Y., December 8, 1907, and addressed to the writer.

> In reply to your letter of Nov. 23d I write to say that when my father was writing his memoirs I asked if he would refer to the order No. 11—about which you enquire in your letter, and he replied that that was a matter long past and best not referred to; therefore, I shall, following his example, have nothing to say about that order.
>
> Yours very sincerely,
>
> FREDERICK D. GRANT.

Nicolay and Hay dismiss the subject in these few words:

> Lincoln had a profound respect for every form of sincere religious belief. He steadily refused to show favor to any particular denomination of Christians, and when General Grant issued an unjust and injurious order against the Jews expelling them from his Department, the President ordered it to be revoked the moment it was brought to his notice.

As further bearing upon Ceasar Kaskel's activity in this matter it may be stated that the Washington press despatches gave him full credit for the repeal of the order. He died in Wiesbaden, Germany, March 30, 1892.

Lincoln's Jewish Friends.

The name of Abraham Jonas, a leading lawyer, politician, and public speaker of Illinois, is indissolubly associated with that of Abraham Lincoln, the two having enjoyed very intimate relations, dating, it is believed, from about the birth of the Whig party in 1834 and continuing up to the death of Jonas in 1864.

Of the antecedents of Abraham Jonas, we learn that he was one of twenty-two children of Annie Ezekiel and Benjamin Jonas, of Exeter, England, where he was born in 1801. He arrived in Cincinnati, in 1819, two years after his brother Joseph, the first Jew to settle in that city, and engaged in the auction business with his brother-in-law, Morris Moses. He was twice married, his first wife being Lucia Orah, daughter of Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas, of New York, who died in 1825. In 1829 he married Louisa Block, of Virginia. He was one of the incorporators of the first synagogue in Cincinnati, in 1829, and his name appears in a conveyance recorded in 1821, as one of the purchasers of a small plot of ground for a Jewish cemetery from Nicholas Longworth, great-grandfather of the present Ohio Congressman of that name, the son-in-law of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Jonas moved to Williamstown, Grant County, Ky., before his marriage to Miss Block, and served in the State legisla-

ture of Kentucky in 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1833. He was elected Grand Master of Masons of Kentucky in August, 1833, and his portrait as such adorns the walls of the Grand Lodge room in Louisville. He settled in Illinois in 1838 and was elected to the legislature in 1842. He became the first Grand Master of Masons of that State in 1839. A tablet in his honor was placed in the hall of the Grand Lodge of Illinois on the announcement of his death in 1864 and the Grand Lodge at their semi-centennial in 1889 had a bronze medal struck which bears his name.

Jonas, with Lincoln, was chosen by the Illinois State Convention held at Bloomington on May 29, 1856, a Presidential elector on the Fremont ticket. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits up to the year 1843. Meanwhile he had studied law and was admitted in that year to the bar in Quincy where he continued to practice with success up to his death in 1864, being associated with Henry Asbury. William A. Richardson, of Quincy, avers that Lincoln, when in that city did much of his work in the office of Jonas & Asbury. The Quincy *Whig*, of October 7, 1858, prints a notice signed by Jonas, as chairman of the Republican committee of arrangements, addressed to the friends of Abraham Lincoln requesting their presence at the debate of Lincoln and Douglas, on October 13, in that city. (See *Collections Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. III.) The Hon. William H. Collins, of Quincy, a prominent member of the State Historical Society of Illinois, is authority for the statement that Jonas was "an influential leader in the Republican party and likewise a personal friend of Lincoln." The Grand Secretary of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Kentucky also testified to his prominence "in all the positions he occupied."

With the exception of Nicolay and Hay none of the numerous biographers of Lincoln makes mention of Jonas either in connection with Lincoln or his prominence in Illinois politics. These writers give us an interesting letter addressed by Lin-

coln to Jonas after the former's nomination for President in 1860 when the opponents of the Republican nominee were assiduous in reviving accusations of his affiliation with the Know-Nothing party, notwithstanding his repeated statements to the contrary. In this emergency Lincoln turned to his friend Jonas, to whom he addressed the following letter which fully evidences the confidential relations of the two and explains the former's attitude on the Know-Nothing question:

Confidential

July 21, 1860.

Hon. A. Jonas,

My dear Sir: Yours of the 2nd is received. I suppose as good or even better men than I may have been in American or Know-Nothing lodges; but in point of fact I never was in one in Quincy or elsewhere. I was never in Quincy but one day and two nights while Know-Nothing lodges were in existence and you were with me that day and both those nights. I have never been there before in my life and never afterwards, till the joint debate with Douglas in 1858. It was in 1854 when I spoke in some hall there, and after the speaking, you with others took me to an oyster saloon, passed an hour there, and you walked with me to, and parted with me at the Quincy House quite late at night. I left by stage for Naples before daylight in the morning, having come in by the same route after dark the evening previous to the speaking, when I found you waiting at the Quincy House to meet me. A few days after I was there, Richardson, as I understand, started this same story about my having been in a Know-Nothing lodge. When I heard of the charge, as I did soon after, I taxed my recollection for some incident which could have suggested it; and I remember that on parting with you the last night I went to the office of the hotel to take my stage passage for the morning and was told that no stage office for that line was kept there and that I must see the driver before retiring, to insure his calling for me in the morning; and a servant was sent with me to find the driver, who after taking me a square or two, stopped me and stepped perhaps a dozen steps farther, and in my hearing called to some one, who answered him, apparently from the upper part of a building, and promised to call with the stage for me at the Quincy House. I returned and went to bed, and before day the stage called and took me. This is all. That I never was in a

Know-Nothing lodge in Quincy I should expect could be easily proved by respectable men who were always in the lodges and never saw me there. An affidavit of one or two such should put the matter at rest. And now a word of caution. Our adversaries think they can gain a point if they force me to openly deny the charge, by which some degree of offence would be given to the "Americans." For this reason it must not publicly appear that I am paying any attention to the charge.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

From 1849 to 1852 Jonas served as postmaster at Quincy by appointment of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore. One of Lincoln's earliest appointments was that of his friend Jonas to his former office, his commission being dated April 29, 1861. He discharged the duties of postmaster until the spring of 1864 when he was incapacitated by serious illness. Martin Joseph, then, as now, a resident of Quincy, informs the writer that he visited Jonas frequently during his illness, being personally acquainted with him, and "when the doctors had no hope for his recovery, of which he was aware, his only wish was to see his son Charles H., at that time a prisoner of war, a member of the Twelfth Arkansas Regiment of the Confederate Army. The friends telegraphed to Lincoln to grant him the privilege to go to his dying father and the President being a great friend of Mr. Jonas granted the release and sent word the son was on the way."

This statement of Mr. Joseph varies but slightly from that of Charles H. Jonas, still living in his 77th year. In a letter to the writer dated July 14, 1908, he says:

When during my father's last illness and hope of his recovery had been abandoned, my mother and sister asked Mr. Lincoln to permit me to see him before his death. I was at that time a prisoner of war on Johnson's Island, Lake Erie. President Lincoln granted the request without hesitation, and issued an order to the Commandant at the prison to liberate me on parole to visit my dying father. This was done at once and I reached Quincy on the day of my father's death, but in time to be recognized and welcomed by him.

From the records of the War Department we are enabled to reproduce the President's order above referred to, the same being also quoted by Leslie J. Perry in an article "Appeals to Lincoln's Clemency," in the *Century Magazine,* December, 1895:

Allow Charles H. Jonas now a prisoner of war at Johnson's island a parole of three weeks to visit his dying father, Abraham Jonas, at Quincy, Ills.

June 2nd 1864. A. LINCOLN.

In connection with this incident it should be said that three other sons of Jonas served in the Confederate army—Benjamin F., in later years United States Senator from Louisiana; Julian, and Samuel Alroy, the latter being known as the author of the poem "Written on the Back of a Confederate Note." A fifth son, Edward, served with distinction as Major of an Illinois regiment. Lincoln's postmaster at Quincy suffered in no wise by the Southern sympathies of his four sons; in fact we have it from Benjamin F. Jonas that "Mr. Lincoln always asked after us when he saw any one from New Orleans during the war."

Further evidence of Lincoln's high opinion of Jonas exists in the shape of an order of the President in the matter of one Thomas Thoroughman of St. Joseph, Mo., arrested for disloyalty in May, 1862, and sent to Quincy, Ill. Appeal being made to Lincoln he directed the Secretary of War "to dispose of the case at the discretion of Abraham Jonas and Henry Asbury, both of Quincy, both of whom I know to be loyal and sensible men." Their report resulted in Thoroughman's parole. This case is also quoted by Leslie J. Perry in the *Century Magazine,* December, 1895. Asbury in 1869 published in the Quincy *Whig* a series of sketches of the bench and bar of Adams County including that of Jonas, to which he refers in his volume *Reminiscences of Quincy,* published in 1882.

On the death of Jonas the President appointed his widow

Louisa Block Jonas to fill his unexpired term as postmaster, the office being meanwhile managed by her daughter Anna Jonas who became the wife of Adolph Meyer, for twenty years Congressman from Louisiana.

Of Jonas' personality we learn from his niece Mrs. Annie J. Moses, of New York. She writes:

> He was tall, of medium weight, rather inclined to leanness than flesh, with black eyes and hair and complexion between dark and fair. His features were very strong, with a serious, intelligent face, which broke into a very pleasant expression when amused. He was a very intellectual man and full of humor and wit; and benevolence was well marked in his countenance.

Of the few Jewish residents of Springfield for several years preceding Lincoln's election to the Presidency, Julius Hammerslough, of the firm of Hammerslough Brothers, enjoyed very friendly relations with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. He heard Lincoln's memorable address in Springfield on June 17, 1858, beginning with the words, "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it." Mr. Hammerslough witnessed Lincoln's first inauguration and frequently called to see him at the White House, the President invariably inquiring of Mr. Hammerslough: "How are the boys?"—referring to the brothers in Springfield. One one occasion he escorted Mrs. Ninian Edwards, a sister of Mrs. Lincoln, from Springfield to Washington. He accompanied Lincoln's remains from Chicago to Springfield as one of a committee of citizens of Lincoln's old home chosen for that purpose, and he also provided the plumes for the funeral car used in Springfield. Hammerslough took a very active part in the project for the erection of the Lincoln monument in Springfield, being appointed by the national monument committee special agent to bring the subject to the notice of the Jews. In a stirring appeal for funds dated Springfield, May 30, 1865, he wrote:

It is above all, fitting in this land where the Hebrews have won so proud a name and are so greatly respected and honored that they should thus show their love and veneration for the fallen chief of the nation, whose wisdom, honesty and purity of purpose were so highly appreciated by foreign nations and who was so beloved at home.

Shortly before his death Mr. Hammerslough called the writer's attention to an old and familiar Lincoln story the authenticity of which has long been questioned. Returning to Springfield after several weeks' absence with saddle bags on his arms, Lincoln noticed on nearing his home that an additional story had been added since he left—the work of Mrs. Lincoln and intended as a surprise. Feigning inability to recognize the house he inquired of a passer-by, "Say, Mister, can you tell me where the widow Lincoln lives?" The party thus addressed was Abner Wilkinson, a well-known merchant tailor of Springfield, from whose lips Hammerslough heard the story some years afterwards. This statement of Wilkinson to Hammerslough is interesting, in that it settles the character of at least one of the many Lincoln stories heretofore in the apocryphal class.

In the late 'sixties Mr. Hammerslough moved to New York where he became the founder and first President of the Clothiers Association of New York. On his death, June 18, 1908, the directors of that association formally gave expression to the debt of gratitude due him for the uplifting of the clothing industry. The daily newspapers also noted his intimate acquaintance with Lincoln.

There resided in Jacksonville, Ill., from 1853 to 1861 Henry Rice a merchant born in Germany in 1834 and now a resident of New York. Rice knew Lincoln well. Referring to his acquaintance he told the writer of a visit to Springfield when he met Lincoln bound for the railroad station in quest of Mrs. Lincoln who had been away on a shopping trip "to get some duds" as he put it. Rice told Lincoln it was his

intention, if he would permit it, to furnish his inauguration suit. He thanked Rice, saying he had already accepted a similar offer from the Springfield firm of Wood and Hinkle. Rice had been acting for several months after the breaking out of the war as military store-keeper at Cairo, Ill., and sought a similar appointment embracing the entire district, being backed by John A. Logan and Governor Richard Yates of Illinois. Accompanied by these gentlemen Rice called upon Lincoln at the White House. He found the President at supper and at his invitation the three joined in the repast. Lincoln favored Rice's appointment and endorsed his application to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War. It turned out however, that Cameron had already filled the office. Lincoln, when informed of this, suggested a method by which Rice might yet secure the appointment but the latter allowed the matter to drop.

A characteristic instance of Lincoln's probity is narrated by Mr. Rice, who was a party to the proceeding. Several Cincinnati firms, on learning of the failure of a Decatur, Ill., debtor for a large sum, wrote to Rice at Jacksonville requesting that he recommend a reputable lawyer to protect their interests. Rice suggested Abraham Lincoln of Springfield. Thereupon a committee representing the creditors met Rice at Springfield and the party called upon Lincoln. Much to their chagrin they were told he did not feel satisfied he could properly attend to the matter. He advised them, however, to consult his fellow-townsman and most bitter political opponent, John A. McClernand, also a lawyer of note, who was later a Major-General in the Union Army. Indisposed to accept a retainer McClernand suggested that the party again see Lincoln, assuring them of his thorough qualification for the work in hand. This flattering endorsement induced Lincoln to yield, the result being a speedy and mutually satisfactory adjustment of the matter at issue.

It was during the Presidential campaign of 1860 that Abraham Kohn, City Clerk of Chicago, first met Lincoln, the acquaintance being formed in the store of Kohn, at that time a merchant. Kohn was a Bavarian, then in his 42d year, a man of excellent education, well versed in Hebrew literature and known and respected as a public-spirited citizen. He had been for several years President of the Hebrew Congregation Anshe Maariv (Men of the West). In politics Kohn was described by the Democratic press as "one of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists." Kohn's popularity and influence had probably been brought to Lincoln's attention, and the latter, consummate politician as he was, recognized in Kohn, presumably, an ally whose acquaintance would prove a valuable asset in the pending election. Lincoln was introduced by Congressman Isaac N. Arnold who accompanied him and it was this meeting that inspired Kohn with a feeling of admiration for his visitor and a conviction that he was the destined Moses of the slaves and the saviour of his country. Thus says his daughter, Mrs. D. K. Adler, in a letter to the writer. Lincoln in the course of the conversation spoke of the Bible as their book and Kohn, being a devout Jew as well as an ardent patriot, conceived an intense admiration for Lincoln. This found expression in his sending to the President-elect before his departure for Washington a silk flag, the work of his own hands, painted in colors, its folds bearing Hebrew characters exquisitely lettered in black with the third to ninth verses of the first chapter of Joshua, the last verse being:

Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid neither be thou dismayed; for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.

This flag is referred to by Admiral George H. Preble in his *History of the Flag of the United States,* published in 1894. The incident being brought to the attention of the late President McKinley, when Governor of Ohio, he thus alluded to it

in the course of a speech delivered at Ottawa, Kansas, on June 20, 1895:

> What more beautiful conception than that which Abraham Kohn of Chicago in February, 1861, to send to Mr. Lincoln, on the eve of his starting to Washington, to assume the office of President, a flag of our country, bearing upon its silken folds the words from the first chapter of Joshua. Could anything have given Mr. Lincoln more cheer or been better calculated to sustain his courage or to strengthen his faith in the mighty work before him? Thus commanded, thus assured, Mr. Lincoln journeyed to the Capital, where he took the oath of office and registered in Heaven an oath to save the Union. And the Lord our God was with him, until every obligation of oath and duty was sacredly kept and honored. Not any man was able to stand before him. Liberty was the more firmly enthroned, the Union was saved, and the flag which he carried floated in triumph and glory from every flagstaff of the Republic.

Mr. Lincoln at once wrote to Mr. Kohn thanking him for his gift. His letter was sent through a mutual friend, John Young Scammon, a prominent citizen of Chicago, who delayed its delivery until six months after Lincoln's departure from Springfield, when he wrote to Mr. Kohn as follows:

> CHICAGO, August 28, 1861.
>
> *Abraham Kohn, Esq.*
>
> MY DEAR SIR: The enclosed acknowledgment of the receipt of your beautiful painting of the American flag by the President got among my letters or it would have been sent to you before. Regretting the delay, I am,
>
> Truly your friend,
> J. YOUNG SCAMMON.

Mr. Lincoln's letter to Kohn being lost cannot be reproduced. The whereabouts of the flag cannot be traced, although Mrs. Adler states that while in Washington during the administration of President McKinley she made a thorough search for the relic in all the places where it might be preserved but without success. Kohn never met Lincoln after his visit to his store in Chicago. He was one of the citizens appointed by the Mayor to go some distance into Indiana to

meet the train bearing Lincoln's body to that city. He died in Chicago in 1871.

Henry Greenebaum, for many years a banker of Chicago, was an intimate friend of Lincoln and numbered also among his friends Generals U. S. Grant, John A. Logan, James A. Garfield, and Stephen A. Douglas. Born in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in 1833, he reached Chicago in 1849 and in 1855 was elected an Alderman on the Democratic ticket in recognition of his political activity and influence with the voters of that party. John Wentworth, "Long John," being Mayor of Chicago at the time, he invited the Aldermen to a dinner at the Tremont House, Lincoln, a personal friend of Wentworth, being a guest. Of this and subsequent visits Mr. Greenebaum gave the writer the following account:

> On the occasion of the dinner at the Tremont House I met Lincoln for the first time and was greatly impressed by his congeniality, by his wealth of humor, and by his remarkable mental endowment. I formed the brightest appreciation of his personality, and whenever he came to Chicago subsequent to that time, I called on him at the Tremont House to pay my respects. On one of these occasions, during his contest with Stephen A. Douglas, for the United States Senatorship, I accompanied Lincoln on a walk during which he asked me for my support. My reply was that I could not do so, that I was a strong political friend of Douglas. Lincoln said he knew this and that he was not in real earnest in asking my support.

Greenebaum was called to Springfield in the month of February, 1861, to attend a hearing before a committee of the State legislature. The night before Lincoln left Springfield, Greenebaum and a large party of legislators and others went to Lincoln's home to bid him good-bye and the President-elect asked all present to come to the depot in the morning to see him off. To quote Mr. Greenebaum:

> A large crowd gathered and the dear man made a very solemn and impressive speech—indeed he moved us to tears. With wonderful modesty he expressed his fear of being unable to meet the grave responsibility that awaited him at the White House.

His faith in God gave him courage, he said, and he asked us to pray for him. Taken all in all I consider him the greatest man I ever met. He was a man of very broad views, had no prejudices whatever against any nationalities or classes and many of the most prominent Jews of Illinois supported him for the Presidency.

By reason of his residence and prominence in the city of Washington Adolphus S. Solomons had frequent intercouse with Lincoln. He was a member of the book and publishing firm of Philip and Solomons which for many years was given the government contracts for printing. Mr. Solomons has taken an active part in the inauguration ceremonies of every President from Lincoln to Roosevelt, is still living in the National Capital in his eighty-second year, and is full of reminiscences of Lincoln. At the Lincoln birthday celebration given under the auspices of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brooklyn in 1903 he said:

To me, whose good fortune it was to know Mr. Lincoln when he first came to Washington, and to know him was to love him, it would come with natural impulse to glow over the make up of his remarkable career. All of his inclinations were on the sunny side of life and the beauty spots seen through his hopeful eyes covered many freckles upon the human face divine and made him think well of all his fellow men.

On the same occasion Mr. Solomons related the following reminiscences:

One day while I was in the White House waiting to see the President I found myself in line with fifty others and had to wait my turn. Right in front of me was a tall, stupid-appearing fellow, and I wondered what in the world his mission was. The man said to the President, "I see that you are rather busy today, and I will come in some other time to tell you what a contraband told me"; whereupon the President interrupted him by a slap on the shoulder and with a steady look at his muddy clothing and boots, and looking at his shaggy red hair exclaimed:

"Excepting myself you are the homeliest man I ever set eyes on. But that makes no difference: sit right down and tell me *all*

you know." As he said this Lincoln winked at me over the stranger's shoulder, and added, "And it certainly cannot take you long." Evidently the man did not see the joke, for he told a short story and was soon out of the room.

On another occasion, when I was present, a Mr. Addison, a Federal officer from Baltimore, called upon Lincoln to tender his resignation, whereupon Lincoln said: "All right, Addison, I accept your resignation but nothing can compensate me for the loss of you, for when you retire I will be the ugliest man left in the employ of the Government"—again emphasizing that he thought himself no beauty.

The day that Lincoln issued one of his early war proclamations I chanced to be at the White House with a distinguished New York Rabbi, Dr. Morris J. Raphall, who came to Washington to ask for the promotion of his son Alfred, from a second to a first lieutenancy in the army. The White House was closed for the day when we got there, but upon sending up my card we gained admittance and after Lincoln had heard the Rabbi's request he blurted out, "As God's minister is it not your first duty to be at home today to pray with your people for the success of our arms, as is being done in every loyal church throughout the North, East and West?" The Rabbi, evidently ashamed at his *faux pas*, blushing made answer: "My assistant is doing that duty." "Ah," said Lincoln, "that is different." The President then drew forth a small card and wrote the following upon it:

"The Secretary of war will promote Second Lieutenant Raphall to a First Lieutenantcy.

A. Lincoln."

Handing the card to the Rabbi he said, with a smile all his own: "Now doctor, you can go home and do your own praying."

Referring to this interview, in an address on Lincoln at his synagogue B'nai Jeshurun, New York, April 19, 1865, Dr. Raphall said that he had seen the President but once, he had asked him but one favor, but that time he granted it freely, he had granted it lovingly "because he knew the speaker was a Jew—because he knew him to be a true servant of the Lord."

The last photograph of President Lincoln, taken shortly before his assassination, was made in the gallery attached to the Philip and Solomons' establishment in Washing-

ton. After Mr. Solomons retired from the business the plates and negatives of the firm passed to Alexander Gardner who was in charge of the portraiture branch and subsequently a partner in the concern. In the *American Hebrew* of February 12, 1909, Mr. Solomons gives the following account of Mr. Lincoln's sitting for this picture:

As many statements have been made relating to the "last photograph" Mr. Lincoln sat for, I feel assured that the following disposes of the fact:

During the early 60's our bookselling and publishing firm of Philip & Solomons, located at 911 Pennsylvania avenue in this city, had a large photograph branch in the upper part of the building, under the charge of Alexander Gardner who was well known for his celebrated "Photographic Sketch Book of the War" in two oblong folio volumes, in which Mr. Lincoln was a frequent and conspicuous figure in camp and battle fields.

One day while in his office I casually remarked that I would like very much for him to give us another sitting as those we had been favored with were unsatisfactory to us, and would he permit us to try again, to which he willingly assented.

Not long afterwards he sent word that he could "come on some Sunday," and a date was arranged, which was the second Sunday previous to the Friday night when the assassin, Wilkes Booth, in cold blood shot to death one of the most beloved men God ever created.

At the time named by appointment, he came and at my first glance I saw, with regret, that he wore a troubled expression, which, however, was not unusual at that eventful period of our country's fitful condition, and throwing aside on a chair the gray woolen shawl he was accustomed to wear, Mr. Gardner, after several squints at his general make-up, placed him in an artistic position and began his work.

After several "snaps," during which the President while making jocular remarks, had completely upset the operator's calculations, I followed Mr. Gardner into his "dark room" and learned to my sorrow that he had not succeeded in getting even a *fair* expression of his mobile countenance, and therefore was much discouraged, which, however, was but a repetition of former occasions.

I courageously named the result of my investigation to Mr. Lincoln, whereupon he, noticing, perhaps, my disappointment,

said to me, "tell Mr. Gardner to come out in the open"—referring to the "dark room,"—"and you, Solomons tell me one of your funny stories and we will see if I can't do better."

I complied as best I could, and the result was the likeness as reproduced.

This portrait is identical with the one published by the Sprague & Hathaway Co., of West Somerville, Mass., which they informed the writer was made by them from an old-fashioned wet plate owned by Watson Porter, photographer to the Army of the Potomac, by whom it was sold to Henry M. Williams, a lawyer and capitalist at Fort Wayne, Indiana, whose father was a personal friend of Lincoln. By what means Porter came into the possession of this negative is not known.

Joseph Seligman, formerly of the New York banking firm of J. and W. Seligman & Co., had close relations with President Lincoln, by whom he was called to Washington for consultation with himself and Secretary Chase, on matters of finance. Many of the issues of government bonds were placed by the Seligmans in Frankfort and Amsterdam. This action, at a time when the nation's credit was low and its fate uncertain, elicited frequent expressions of commendation from the President. The appointment of General Grant to the supreme command of the army was in a large measure due to Joseph Seligman's influence with Lincoln, as he had known Grant before the war and recognized his fitness for the duties. Mr. Seligman entertained a strong affection for the President, which was fully reciprocated. He was in Frankfort at the time of Lincoln's assassination and his grief in learning the news was poignant. Referring to that event in later years he often declared to his children that not only had a noble man fallen by the hand of an assassin but also that the South had lost its best friend. Mr. Seligman was with others, instrumental in aiding Mrs. Lincoln after the death of her husband, whereby her wants were much alleviated. To his son, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, of New York, we are indebted for the foregoing details.

Presidential Electors and Delegates.

Two electoral votes were cast for Lincoln by Jews, one in the election of 1860, another in that of 1864. Two Jews served as delegates in the Republican National Convention of 1860 and one in that of 1864.

Sigismund Kaufmann, a member of the bar and a native of Darmstadt, Germany, was a Republican Presidential elector for the State of New York in 1860. He had taken part in the German revolution of 1848-49, was a man of brilliant parts and was at this period in his thirty-fifth year. Kaufmann was the representative of the German Republican element in the United States. He wrote for the *Staats-Zeitung,* founded the New York *Turn Verein,* and the Legal Aid Society, was President of the German Society of the City of New York, a commissioner of immigration, and a director of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. At the age of twenty-seven he addressed anti-slavery meetings in the city of New York, speaking one evening in English, German, and French. With his fellow-members of the Electoral College he went to the Astor House to see Mr. Lincoln on his arrival in New York in February, 1861. On being presented Lincoln remarked, "I know enough German to know that Kaufmann means merchant." Then he added, as if to emphasize his linguistic accomplishments, "And Schneider means tailor—am I not a good German scholar?" (See *New York Tribune,* February 21, 1861.)

The President shortly after his inauguration offered Kaufmann the post of Minister to Italy. He declined it on the ground that he could be more useful to his party at home. Kaufmann was an important factor in the distribution of Federal patronage in the State of New York and wielded much influence with the Lincoln administration. He secured for Franz Sigel an appointment as Colonel of a Missouri regiment on the outbreak of the Civil War in response to an urgent appeal from Sigel then at St. Louis asking "What

shall I do?" to which Kaufmann replied, "Organize a regiment. I will attend to the rest." Mr. Kaufmann in 1870 was an unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York, Stewart L. Woodford being the nominee for Governor.

The emancipation proclamation Kaufmann regarded as the transcendant act of Lincoln's administration. In the course of an address to the German Republicans in 1879 in opposition to a third term for President Grant he declared:

> The proclamation of Abraham Lincoln freeing the slaves was the greatest victory for the Federal cause of the War. It shed no drop of blood, it cost no treasure. Where graves are the monuments of Grant's victories, millions of free men are the trophies Lincoln won.

Kaufmann died in Berlin in 1889, aged 65 years.

In the Presidential campaign of 1864, Abram J. Dittenhoefer was a Presidential elector for the State of New York on the Republican ticket. He was born in South Carolina in 1836 and is a lawyer by profession.

Mr. Dittenhoefer heard Lincoln's Cooper Institute speech in 1859 and was then introduced to him. He did not become intimate with him, however, until after the Presidential election of 1864. Thereafter he called upon the President a number of times at the White House. The President seemed pleased to see his visitor and spent quite a time in conversation, generally about New York politics. Of these interviews Mr. Dittenhoefer, in a communication to the writer, said:

> While an air of melancholy seemed always to suffuse his features, I always regarded President Lincoln as the most genial of men. I often found him sitting in the business office of the White House having on a black, threadbare, alpaca coat, out at the elbows and in slippers. I could always notice when he was about to indulge in a jest, which he frequently did in the midst of the most serious conversation; a sort of half suppressed smile would appear on that strong face for a brief interval before the

jest was given, as if he was anticipating the pleasure it would give in the hearing of it. I remember distinctly presenting to him the ballot I had cast as one of the Presidential electors for him in the New York college of electors. Looking at it a few minutes, he said, "It represents the power and dignity of the American people and the grandeur of American institutions." In thanking me for giving it to him he said he would leave it to his children as a memento. I saw him in Washington a few days before his death. He seemed then to be in the best of spirits and spoke of the great work that was before him in completing the restoration of harmony and peace between the North and the South.

The friends of Dittenhoefer early during the war, knowing that he was a South Carolinian, filed an application for his appointment as United States Judge of that State. Nothing, he says, was heard of the matter for a year or two, when a Mrs. Carson, a daughter of the only Union man in South Carolina, who had been driven from the State for his loyalty, wrote to him that she had been directed by Lincoln to examine the applications on file and make her recommendation to him. This she did and seeing Dittenhoefer's name among the applicants recommended his appointment, which the President promised to make. Shortly thereafter Dittenhoefer received a letter from one of Lincoln's private secretaries saying that the President was going to nominate him for that judgeship, but his business having meanwhile increased and being unwilling to take up his residence in the South he at once replied that he could not accept the nomination.

Mr. Dittenhoefer was in later life appointed a justice of the City Court of New York. He was a delegate to several Republican National Conventions and acted for twelve years as chairman of the Republican Central Committee of New York City where he now resides. For further details about him and Lincoln see *New York Herald,* November 22, 1908.

In the Republican State Convention held at St. Louis on February 12, 1860, Moritz Pinner, one of its members, was elected a delegate to the National Republican Convention to

be held in Chicago the following May. Pinner was a young German of thirty-two engaged in the publication of a German newspaper devoted to the anti-slavery cause. The St. Louis *Republican* of February 13, 1860, gives a detailed account of the proceedings of this State Convention in which Pinner seems to have been very prominent, being especially active in his efforts to defeat the endorsement of Edward Bates of Missouri for the Presidency. The friends of Bates, constituting a majority in the Missouri Convention, having introduced a resolution instructing the national delegates to vote as a unit for the Presidential nominee, Pinner announced his resignation as a delegate to Chicago, the convention immediately adjourning without taking action thereon, thus leaving him free to attend the National Convention where he further devoted his attention to the prevention of Bates' endorsement by the Illinois delegation. This being accomplished he took no further part in the deliberations of the convention and kept aloof from the Missouri delegation, whose leaders Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown he had antagonized in their efforts to secure the nomination of Bates. The consequence was that he failed to record his vote on either of the three ballots which resulted in the choice of Lincoln.

Pinner's name does not appear on the official roll of Missouri delegates to the convention. This omission he explains to the writer as "spite work" of Gratz Brown for his anti-Bates activity. Pinner favored the nomination of William H. Seward, but now in the light of history is extremely thankful that Lincoln was nominated and elected. While he made no effort to secure Lincoln's nomination he worked earnestly for his election and believes that "by preventing the nomination of Bates he paved the way for Lincoln and made his nomination possible and his election probable."

Pinner informs the writer that he became acquainted with Lincoln in Chicago during the Presidential campaign of 1856 and saw him quite often during the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858. After Lincoln's nomination he met him in Spring-

field and was there introduced to Mrs. Lincoln with whom he had a pleasant chat. He frequently saw the President after his election and was by him offered the mission to Honduras which he declined, preferring to enter the army. Appointed by General Philip Kearney Brigade Quartermaster on his staff, Secretary Stanton resented Kearney's action, claiming the sole right of such appointments. An appeal to Lincoln followed. The latter's intervention, Pinner says, secured a prompt adjustment of the controversy but not before its consideration by a full cabinet meeting called for that purpose. Pinner's commission followed at once. This document, signed by Lincoln and Stanton, he has shown to the writer. Since the war Pinner has been engaged in real estate enterprises and the study of economic questions. He is now living in Elizabeth, N. J.

In the same convention with Pinner was Lewis N. Dembitz, a delegate from the city of Louisville, Ky., who was born in Prussia in 1833. He was educated abroad and read law at Cincinnati and Madison, Ind. From 1884 to 1888 he was assistant city attorney for Louisville and drafted the first American law establishing the Australian ballot for the Louisville election in 1888. He was a prolific writer, some of his works being: *Kentucky Jurisprudence, Law Language for Short-Hand Writers, Land Titles in the United States* and *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home.* He also contributed many articles to Jewish periodicals. Dembitz was very proud of having served as a delegate in the convention of 1860 and of voting for Lincoln, whom he much admired but never met, a fact which he always regretted.

Maier Hirsch, a merchant of Salem, Oregon, was one of the six delegates from Oregon to the Republican National Convention of 1864. He came from Hohebach, Württemberg, in 1852, and had lived in Oregon for twelve years, his home being in Salem. He was a brother of Solomon Hirsch, United States Minister to Turkey from 1889 to 1892, and of Edward Hirsch, at one time State Treasurer and later on a

State Senator of Oregon. While prominent and influential in the councils of the Republican party in Oregon and frequently asked to stand for the legislature, Hirsch steadily refused the candidacy for any office save that of delegate to the convention of 1864 in which he appeared as an inconspicuous figure taking no part in the proceedings beyond voting with his delegation for Lincoln whom he much admired. He thereafter disappeared from public view, settling in New York City in 1874, where he died two years later at the age of forty-seven.

Demonstrations Following the Assassination.

In the manifestation of the public grief following the death of President Lincoln, which event "arrested the daily concerns of the whole civilized world" the Jews everywhere were prominent. Occurring as it did on the Jewish Sabbath, the first pulpit utterances were heard in the synagogues, the general character of the services therein being thus described by the New York *Times* of April 21, 1865:

> The American flag was half-masted and the banner itself often enshrouded with folds of crape; long festoons of black and white overhanging the entrance doors. The galleries were draped in black and the huge tapers almost concealed beneath the sombre cloths of mourning. In all the synagogues, as on Saturday last, the prayers for the dead and dying were repeated by the ministers and sorrow-stricken people and the buildings were crowded with assemblages whose earnest attention and fervent responses to the supplications of the officiating clergymen gave evidence of the deep grief that bowed down the hearts of the congregation.

The *Times* states that the services on April 17, 1865, at the Synagogue Shaary Zedek, Rev. Mr. Menks officiating, lasted from 8.30 a. m. to 1 p. m.

In the Synagogue Shearith Israel of New York, the rabbi recited an *Hazcarah* (prayer for the dead) for Lincoln. This, according to the *Jewish Messenger*, was the first time that prayer had been said in a Jewish house of worship for any other than those professing the Jewish religion. The innova-

tion provoked very strong remonstrance in some Jewish quarters. Rev. Mr. Leeser, however, took a liberal view. Addressing the Hebrew Congregation in Washington he declared that:

> Prayers for the deceased President were in accordance with the spirit of the faith which the Jews inherited as children of Israel who recognized in all men those created like them in the image of God, and all entitled to his mercy, grace and pardon, though they have not yet learned to worship and adore Him as they do who have been specially selected as the bearers of His law.

The number of Jews taking part in the funeral procession in the city of Washington was about 125, mainly members of the "Hebrew Congregation" under the marshalship of B. Kaufman.

Of the 50,000 who marched in procession in the city of New York, 7000, according to the *Jewish Messenger,* were Jews, chiefly members of the orders of B'nai B'rith, B'nai Mosheh and Free Sons of Israel, including some 2000 who paraded with the Masonic, military and other organizations. The Free Sons of Israel carried a banner with the inscription:

> **The Father of his Country is Dead**
> **The Nation Mourns him**
> *LINCOLN*
> **He is not dead but he still lives in**
> **the hearts of the Nation.**

The Henry Clay Debating Association of forty members, Samuel Adler, president, was assigned a place in the procession, as were the employes of Heineman and Silberman's factory. Following the funeral procession in the city of New York a memorial meeting was held in Union Square under the direction of 100 leading citizens, Martin H. Levin, a merchant of prominence, being the only Jew among them. George Bancroft was the orator and to Rabbi Samuel M. Isaacs was assigned the reading of the Scripture. Referring

to this meeting Bishop Simpson said in his oration at the burial in Springfield:

The Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in New York and a Protestant minister walked side by side in the procession, and a Jewish rabbi performed a part of the funeral service.

Most of the synagogues and Jewish organizations of the city were represented at this gathering, delegations being present from the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, the Purim Association, the Jerusalem Society, the Mutual Benefit and Burial Society, Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Fuel Association, Hebrew Benevolent Society and Orphan Asylum, and Congregations B'nai Jeshurun, Shaarai Tefila, Anshe Chesed, Rodef Sholom, B'nai Israel, Ahawath Chesed, Beth Israel, Bikur Cholim Kadisha, Atereth Israel and Mishkan Israel.

The Jews of Boston joined in a funeral procession which ended at the Temple Ohabei Shalom, where an address was delivered by Rev. David Myers. In the *Tribute of Nations* covering 1200 contributions from every portion of the civilized world and published by order of Congress in 1867 the resolutions of this congregation appear in full, being, strange to say, the only tribute from American Jewish sources in the entire volume. They read as follows:

BOSTON, April 16, 1865.

At a vestry meeting held this day by the Hebrew Congregation Ohabei Shalom, worshipping in Warren street synagogue, a committee was appointed to draw up resolutions in regard to the late lamentable national calamity, and the following preamble and resolutions were drawn up and passed unanimously:

Whereas it has pleased an all-merciful Father to remove from our midst his Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of these United States of America, by death, at a moment when the whole nation rejoiced in the promised peace of our distracted country; and

Whereas this death has been caused by the foul hand of an assassin, who came unawares upon his illustrious victim while

enjoying relaxation from his arduous duties, in the company of the partner of his bosom; and

Whereas feeling that this calamity concerns every individual, not alone in this country, but throughout the civilized world, affecting as it does the capability of mankind to govern themselves, and dealing a fearful blow against republican institutions: Therefore,

Resolved, That we, the congregation "Ohabei Shalom," of the city of Boston, deeply deplore this sad event, and we humbly bow to our Heavenly Father, praying this last, his "greatest sacrifice" of all will suffice "the monster moloch," and that the Lord our God will be pleased to sanctify the death of our Chief Magistrate to the end that no more victims shall be required to end this unholy war.

Resolved, that with grief and horror we noticed the attempted double assassination of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Seward, and his family, one ripe in years, wisdom and honor; that this attempted assassination is scarcely less to be deplored than that of the Chief Magistrate, whose death the nation now mourns, and that no words can convey the deep sorrow which we feel within us that the first officer of the country should thus be cut off from among us at the moment when his wisdom and prudence were about to lead us out of the chaos of war to the paradise of peace.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved family of the late most worthy Chief Magistrate, and that no words of ours can convey the deep shock, the thrill of horror, the unspeakable agony with which the sad tidings were received by our community. But we hope that He who tempers the winds to the shorn lamb—He who was from the "beginning" "the protector" of the "widow and orphan," will also vouchsafe to be the protector of the family of the lamented dead (dead in the flesh, but living in the hearts of his countrymen). May he temper their grief, and let them remember, and let us hope, that the good deeds done by him whilst on earth will intercede for him before the throne of Almighty God, and that the throne of martyrdom be sanctified unto him.

Resolved, That the synagogue shall be draped in mourning for thirty days and that a prayer for the dead shall be chanted every Sabbath day and Mondays and Thursdays during that time.

Resolved, That on the day of the funeral of the lamented dead, a funeral sermon shall be preached in the synagogue, and that

we, the members of this congregation, unanimously resolve to close our places of business on that day for the purpose of keeping it as a day of mourning.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to the widow of the lamented President, as also to the family of the Secretary of State; that they be sealed with the seal of the congregation and signed by the president and vice-president and secretary.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be entered on the minutes of the congregation and published in the *Post*, *Journal*, and *Herald*, newspapers of this city.

Done the 19th day of Nisan, of the year of the creation 5260—April 16, 1865.

S. MYERS, *President.*
[Seal.] S. STEINBURG, *Vice-President.*
N. EHRLICH, *Secretary.*

The Boston *Traveller* of April 20, 1865, notes that "Solemn and appropriate services were held at both the Jewish Synagogues," the second house of worship being undoubtedly that of the Reform Congregation Adath Israel of which Rev. Joseph Schoninger was rabbi. There were at this time two other synagogues in Boston, Mishkan Israel, Rev. Alexis Alexander rabbi, and the Dutch Jews' synagogue, the rabbi of which is unknown.

The United Hebrew Congregation of St. Louis, A. S. Isaacs, president, ordered their place of worship draped in mourning and that the members wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days. The congregation was addressed by Dr. Henry Vidaver. At the Synagogue B'nai Israel in the same city Rev. Mr. Kittner spoke. The Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association of St. Louis adopted resolutions drawn up by a committee composed of S. H. Lazarus, J. R. Jacobs, and A. S. Aloe which were published in the Missouri *Republican* of April 19, 1865. The Congregation Emanu-El of San Francisco was addressed on the day of the President's death by Rev. Dr. Elkan Cohn, who was handed a despatch announcing the assassination just as he was going

into his pulpit to deliver the weekly sermon. Rev. B. H. Gotthelf addressed the Congregation Adath Israel of Louisville. Congregation Mickve Israel of Philadelphia adopted resolutions in which Lincoln was described as

> One of the best and purest presidents, who like the law-giver Moses brought a nation to the verge of the haven of peace, and like him was not allowed to participate in its consummation.

In the Brevard Street Synagogue, Detroit, Michigan, Rev. Dr. Isidore Kalisch delivered an eloquent address dwelling especially on Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation and likening him to Moses. He also referred to the President's tolerant views, citing as an instance his action in reference to the appointment of Jewish Chaplains for the army.

According to the Chicago *Evening Journal* of May 2, 1865, the Jews were represented in the funeral procession in that city by the Hebrew Benevolent Association and Congregation Bikur Cholim. The establishment of Stein, Kramer and Company draped their store elaborately and a portrait of Lincoln, heavily draped, occupied a place in the window. Foreman Brothers displayed a motto reading:

> "First in the Race that led to Glory's Goal."

Say Nicolay and Hay:

> The President's body rested in the Court House in Chicago for two days under a canopy of sombre richness inscribed with that noble Hebrew lament: "The Beauty of Israel is Slain upon the High Places."

Two congregations in Albany, N. Y., were conspicuous in the demonstrations. Rev. Max Schlesinger spoke at the Temple Anshe Emeth, and the Congregation Beth El held a special meeting at which elaborate resolutions were adopted. These were published in full in the *Evening Journal* of that city of April 20 and the *Argus* of April 21, 1865. This congregation voted to hold services three times on the day of the funeral, first at 6 a. m. for morning prayers, at 10 a. m. for a sermon by the Rev. J. Gotthold, rabbi of the congregation, and at 6 p. m. for evening prayers.

The resolutions of the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association, adopted on April 18, 1865, were published in full in the Washington *National Intelligencer* of April 24. They were drawn up by a committee composed of S. Wolf, Julius Lowenthal, F. P. Stanton, A. Hart, and J. Stralitz, and read:

By the death of Abraham Lincoln the nation has sustained an irreparable loss, freedom her brightest and purest champion, humanity her greatest benefactor, who, more than any other whose name history transmits, deserves the poet's tribute of being "A man take him for all in all we ne'er shall look upon his like again." He has immortalized the country over which he so worthily presided by ever remaining true to freedom and the constitution affected by his inspiration; his heroism, statesmanship and kindness of heart during the trying ordeal of this accursed rebellion will be the marvel, and command the admiration of future ages as they have aroused the fervent homage of the present; the Emancipator stands side by side in our affection and esteem with the Father of his country.

While we mourn this great loss we utter our respectful protest against any leniency towards the responsible leaders of this accursed deed; this is yet and ever shall be a government of the people, more slow to anger but sure to avenge; we extend to Andrew Johnson, the President of the United States, our assurances of esteem and confidence and readiness to sustain him in all acts that will redound to the glory and perpetuity of our beloved country.

Resolutions were drawn by a committee of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of New York, composed of P. Frankenheimer, Philip Spier, M. Mayer, I. S. Solomons, and I. Phillips.

District Grand Lodge No. 2 of the order of B'nai B'rith representing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Michigan, Tennessee, Illinois, and Wisconsin called the assassination "a futile attempt to overthrow the grand principles of freedom and to place in its stead anarchy with its attendant misery." The Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites resolved that

The Israelites of the United States are deeply sensible of the loss humanity has sustained in the painful death of the lamented President; that the loss strikes us with peculiar solemnity and significance at this momentous period of the National history when we behold so nigh the end of that unhallowed combination against the government to the hastening of which the good, the honest Abraham Lincoln, contributed so largely, and with all the zeal, the sincerity and the prudence of his kind heart, his clear practical judgment, his steadfast unfaltering fidelity to the Union.

J. H. Montefiore, President of London Board of Deputies, wrote a letter of condolence to the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister in London, requesting him to convey it to Mrs. Lincoln and the United States Government. In the House of Commons, Benjamin Disraeli spoke of the President's death in seconding the address to the Crown.

Jewish citizens in several of the seceded States also joined in paying homage to the deceased President. In Richmond, Va., Rev. M. J. Michelbacher of the Synagogue Beth Ahaba devoted a sermon to the assassination which he characterized as a most horrible crime and expressed his satisfaction that it had not happened in Richmond. At Memphis the military commander of the Federal forces, having assumed control of the demonstrations, two Jewish congregations united with other denominations in a joint service held in the city park, these being Congregations Israel, Rabbi Tuska, and Beth El, Rabbi Joel Alexander. In the funeral procession in that city appeared Euphrates Lodge, No. 35, Order B'nai B'rith, with its entire membership of 167, Samuel Schloss acting as marshal. Rev. Dr. Bernard Illoway addressed the Congregation Shaarey Chesed of New Orleans. The Congregation Termini Derech of New Orleans draped their synagogue in mourning and was addressed by Colonel Philip J. Joachimsen of New York. Citizens of all classes held a memorial meeting in Charleston, S. C., at which Governor Aiken presided. Samuel Hart, Sr., and Benjamin M. Seixas were members of a Committee of Fifty to draft resolutions. Unmoved by this

touching manifestation of a fallen foe the New York *Tribune* correspondent at Charleston, S. C., in a venomous letter to his paper assailed the majority of the Committee of Fifty as sympathizers with the Confederate cause, Hart and Seixas being with others specifically designated as "still violent secessionists at heart."

The official minutes of the Lincoln Monument Association of Springfield record among the very first contributors to the fund the "Hebrew Citizens of Alton, Ill.," followed shortly thereafter by the Hebrew Congregation of St. Joseph, Mo., and the Hebrew Congregation of Philadelphia.

Dr. C. H. Liebermann, a practicing physician of Washington, was one of the nine medical men at the death-bed of Lincoln, and his portrait is among the forty-seven persons in Alonzo Chappel's painting, *The Last Hours of Lincoln,* executed in 1867. From the prospectus of a steel-plate engraving of this painting we learn:

> Lincoln's family physician, Dr. Stone and Surgeon-General Barnes accompanied by assistant Surgeon-General Crane were in early attendance, and later he was visited by Doctors Hall and Liebermann, and other eminent physicians, all of whom agreed that the wound was unto death.

Numerous contemporary newspapers referred to Dr. Liebermann's presence on this occasion and his name is mentioned in various books treating of the assassination. Neighbors of Liebermann in Washington are of the impression that he was a Jew, although unaffiliated with Jewish organizations. He was born in Riga, Russia, September 15, 1813, and died in Washington, March 27, 1886.

The flight, pursuit and remorse of Lincoln's assassin have been vividly portrayed by Emma Lazarus in a poem of five stanzas entitled "April 27th, 1865." She chose for her title the date of Booth's capture and death, inadvertently given a day in advance of the actual date. These verses first appeared in 1867 in *Poems and Translations Written between the*

Ages of Fourteen and Seventeen. Owing to their ambiguous title their existence has escaped the notice of most students of Lincoln.

Inspired by the death of Lincoln, Judah Roswald of Baltimore wrote a poem in Hebrew called "Lincoln's Amnesty," the same being published in the *Jewish Messenger* of June 24, 1865.

In its issue of May 25, 1865, this journal published an appreciation of Lincoln in Hebrew by Isaac Goldstein. In translation this reads:

ACROSTIC

On Abraham Lincoln, Assassinated Nisan 18th, 5625.

My heart overflows with a good speech. I address my work unto a king. Psalms, XLV. 2.

I.

Happy art thou, Lincoln, Who is like unto thee!
Among kings and princes thou art exalted.
Much thou did'st with an humble spirit.
Thou art like a unique person in the land.
Who among princes is like Lincoln?
Who shall be praised like him?

II.

Thou hast also a name among heroes!
Thy right hand has achieved prowess against them.
Thou hast girded on the sword of the slain.
Thou hast drawn the bow by night and by day.
One Father has created us, thou hast said;
Therefore thou hast proclaimed Freedom in thy land.
The black people thou hast redeemed into Freedom:
Forever they will praise and bless thy name.

Who among princes is like Lincoln, and who can be praised like him?

Isaac Goldstein, the Levite.

Eulogies of Lincoln were pronounced by the rabbis of many synagogues, and some of these were printed in the *Israelite*, the *Jewish Messenger*, the *Occident*, and daily news-

papers. Of these eulogies none has been preserved in permanent form with the exception of the following:

Liebman Adler, *Address* (in *Fünf Reden*), Chicago, 1866.
David Einhorn, *Trauer Rede*, Philadelphia, April 19, 1865.
Henry Hochheimer, *Predigt*, April 19, 1865; *Fest- und Fasttag*, Baltimore, June 1, 1865.
Sabato Morais, *An Address*, Philadelphia, April 19, 1865; *A Discourse*, June 1, 1865.
Benjamin Szold, *Vaterland und Freiheit*, Baltimore, June 1, 1865.
Philip J. Joachimsen, *An Address*, New Orleans, April 29, 1865.
Jonas Bondi, *Trauer-Predigt*, New York, April 19, 1865.

Lincoln's Clemency.

No phase of Lincoln's administration surpasses in interest the chapters dealing with the appeals to executive clemency. The importunities of pardon seekers and his habitual yielding to their entreaties in the face of earnest protests gave rise to much harsh criticism, but this rarely swerved him from his predetermined course of action.

An exceptional instance of Lincoln's denial of a pardon was narrated by the late Rabbi Benjamin Szold, of Baltimore, in the case of a Jewish deserter in General Meade's army. Stopping at Washington on his way to Rappahannock station Rabbi Szold sought an audience with the President with a view of obtaining a pardon for the condemned man. Lincoln being engaged at a cabinet meeting at the time, Dr. Szold sent in his Bible with the passage from Deutoronomy xx, 8, marked, at the same time making his plea for the soldier. Presently the President emerged with the Bible in hand, laughing heartily, "the tears rolling down his cheeks," according to an account of the visit published in the Baltimore *Herald* May 24, 1896. Several other soldiers in General Meade's army,—Catholics and Protestants,—were awaiting execution at this time for a similar offence and the President inquired of the Rabbi whether he was interceding for the Jew only or for all the deserters. Lincoln refused to interfere

but gave Dr. Szold a letter to General Meade asking that every courtesy be shown the bearer. Meade firmly refused to waive the death penalty on the ground that it would be a bad example for the army and a serious precedent for the future.

More fortunate in his effort to save the life of a Jewish deserter was Simon Wolf, of Washington, who paid a midnight visit to the President for that purpose. In a recent address in Baltimore he said:

> The scene when I called upon Mr. Lincoln is indelibly impressed on my memory and gave evidence of the luminous spirit, humanity and charity which characterized the great President. Deserters at that period were numerous, soldiers were needed and stern measures were demanded to preserve discipline in the decimated ranks of the Army of the Potomac. Secretary Stanton and the Commanding Generals were continually complaining of the President's leniency. The execution in this instance was fixed for the following day. I was accompanied by "Tom" Corwin, the distinguished Ohio statesman. Mr. Lincoln listened patiently to the pleadings of both but stood firm. At last I pleaded with him on lines which I knew he could not resist. The President turned in his chair and rang a bell. The Secretary answered the call and he ordered a stay of execution. The young soldier subsequently led the forlorn hope at the battle of Cold Harbor, and fell in his tracks with the flag of his country wrapped around him. A monument to his memory has since been erected. When I subsequently told the President of the tragic end of the boy he had so nobly pardoned, he was affected to tears. And this is the man whom a partisan press denounced as a "baboon" and an "ignoramus."

In the archives of the War Department is recorded the remarkable experience of David Levy, who was granted a pardon by Lincoln under peculiar circumstances. Levy in December, 1902, applied to the Pension Bureau for a pension, which was refused on the ground that his name appears on the books of the War Department as a deserter. The records show that Levy first enlisted on April 19, 1861, in the 16th Pennsylvania cavalry, serving until July 23, 1861, when he was mustered out. He again enlisted August 19, 1861, and

deserted February 22, 1863. This desertion was fatal to his claim for pension under the Act of Congress, and he was so informed. He immediately wrote to the Bureau that he was pardoned for that desertion by President Lincoln and as evidence of the fact he forwarded to the Pension Office a small card, such as Lincoln habitually used in the course of his official business, whereon was written in his well-known handwriting:

If David Levy shall enlist and serve faithfully for one year or until otherwise honorably discharged I will pardon him for the past.
Jan. 12, 1865. A. LINCOLN.

Upon receipt of this Eugene F. Ware, the Commissioner of Pensions, ordered that the pardon be recognized. This card Levy subsequently presented to Mr. Ware, who is now its owner.

In the *Century Magazine,* December, 1895, may be found numerous orders of Lincoln in reference to the appeals of pardon-seekers, including that of Abraham Samuels, arrested in Virginia in the fall of 1864 while trying to pass through the Union lines to obtain medical supplies for the Confederate army. Samuel's defense was that he "was simply trying to escape from the South." The matter was referred to Lincoln who endorsed the papers as follows:

It is confessed in this case that Samuels when arrested had on his person a paper *prima facie* showing that he was going North to obtain medical supplies for the rebels. Will the officer in commmand at Fort Monroe please give him an opportunity of trying to prove that this was not his real object and report the evidence, with his opinion on it, to me?
A. LINCOLN.

After taking considerable testimony the President on December 10, 1864, issued this order:

Let the prisoner Samuels be discharged.
A. LINCOLN.

Diligent research fails to reveal the identity of Samuels.

Of exceptional interest was the arrest and imprisonment in Washington, 1864, of Goodman L. Mordecai, of South Carolina. He was the son of Benjamin Mordecai, one of the most prominent citizens of Charleston, and was then in his 26th year. He had received an honorable discharge from the Confederate Army, and had been an occasional contributor to the Southern press. Intending to visit Nassau in the interest of a prominent blockade company, he left Richmond bound for Washington, fortified with passports from Judah P. Benjamin, and the city authorities. Reaching Washington, he was arrested, and, refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was imprisoned for several months. He then sent for Samuel A. Lewis, an uncle of his *fiancée,* Miss Ada Jackson. Lewis was editor of the *Hebrew Leader,* and Vice-President of Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York. He also appealed to Dr. I. Zacharie, whose close relations with Lincoln will be referred to later on, who took immediate steps for his release. He called on the President and successfully accomplished this result. In return for this act of kindness young Mordecai accompanied his benefactor to the White House to thank Lincoln for his consideration. Describing this interview, Mr. Mordecai told the writer:

> Zacharie unconsciously informed Lincoln that I had fought against the Government and that my father was the first contributor to the Southern Cause having been a subscriber in the sum of $10,000 soon after the secession of South Carolina. The President then grasped my hand and answered: "I am happy to know that I am able to serve an enemy." My release followed, on condition that I would not return to the South during the war. Proceeding to New York I found myself under the constant surveillance of the Federal detectives. I then called upon General Dix to whom I showed the President's order for my release which he examined with care and at once dismissed me, remarking: "I bow to higher authority!"

On Lincoln's birthday, 1901, Mr. Mordecai contributed to the *New York Tribune* a detailed account of his arrest and release, which was printed the following day. In the article

he ventured the statement that "one of the greatest, grandest characters in history was Abraham Lincoln."

Lincoln's course in this case occasioned a scandalous editorial in the anti-administration organ—the New York *World*, of September 24, 1864, its caption being "Mr. Lincoln's Unionism and Bunionism." Dr. Zacharie is held up as a man who had been courted and flattered by high officials because of his intimacy with the President. He, it alleges, "has often left his business apartment to spend an evening in the parlor with this favored bunionist." Zacharie is said to have "enjoyed Mr. Lincoln's confidence perhaps more than any other private individual." The *World* broadly intimates that Mordecai's release was obtained for a consideration and suggests that "there must be a reason for this remarkable intimacy between an obscure toe-nail trimmer and the Chief Executive of a great nation."

Noteworthy Incidents.

Several noteworthy incidents marked Lincoln's visit to New York when *en route* to Washington on February 19, 1861. Passing down Broadway in his barouche he may have noticed the establishment of Isador Bernhard and Son decorated with a banner with the device: "Welcome Abraham Lincoln; we beg for Compromise." The same night at the Astor House he greeted J. Solis Ritterband of the New York bar, President of the Young Men's Republican Club of the City of New York, who had made many speeches in the campaign, marched with the "Wide Awakes" and worked enthusiastically for the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. On the following day Lincoln was officially received at the New York City Hall where he was welcomed by Mayor Fernando Wood. An impromptu reception followed in the course of which the Mayor announced the presence of "Mr. Cohen" of Charleston, probably J. Barret Cohen, remarking as he did so that the gentleman was "outside the jurisdiction," bearing in mind the fact

that South Carolina had, sixty-two days before, passed an ordinance of secession. Whether Mr. Cohen's visit was prompted by admiration or curiosity does not appear in the *Tribune* account of the presentation, published the following day (February 20, 1861). At any rate, Mr. Lincoln extended a cordial greeting to the gentleman from South Carolina, observing as he did so that "the matter of jurisdiction makes no difference at all."

Lincoln's various calls for troops met with prompt response from the Jews, the names of 6000 of that faith being recorded by Simon Wolf in *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen,* as having served in the cause of the Union. The actual number serving was probably double that figure. Numerous appointments and promotions in the military service attest Lincoln's appreciation of the services rendered by the Jews.

He appointed Major Leopold Blumenberg, of Maryland, Provost-Marshal of the third Maryland District, and President Johnson subsequently promoted him Brevet-Brigadier-General. Edward S. Solomon, a lieutenant in an Illinois regiment, was ultimately brevetted Brigadier-General and commended for "the highest order of coolness and determination under very trying circumstances" in the battle of Gettysburg. After enlisting as a private in an Indiana regiment Frederick Knefler rose to be Brevet-Major-General, the highest rank attained by any Jew in the Federal Army. In the first battle of Bull Run, in 1861, Colonel Max Einstein commanding a Pennsylvania regiment covered the retreat of the Union Army, and was subsequently appointed by President Lincoln United States Consul at Nuremburg, Bavaria. President Lincoln appointed Adolph A. Mayer of the Fourth New Mexico Volunteers Inspector-General of Volunteers. Among the recipients of Medals of Honor, authorized by Congress and approved by President Lincoln, were a large number of Jewish soldiers, both commissioned and non-com-

missioned officers, and privates. Colonel Marcus M. Spiegel of the 67th Ohio Infantry had been recommended for promotion to the grade of Brigadier-General but died of wounds received at Vicksburg before the appointment could be made.

Conspicuous in manifestations of loyalty was Uriah P. Levy, of the United States Navy, the owner of Monticello, the former home of Thomas Jefferson. Calling on Lincoln at the opening of the war, he placed his entire fortune at his disposal. The offer being declined, he subscribed liberally to the war loan. Levy died March 22, 1862, devising a large portion of his estate in Virginia and the city of New York to the people of the United States, for the maintenance, at Monticello, of an agricultural school for the children of deceased warrant-officers of the United States Navy. Mr. Fessenden of Maine, in a speech in the United States Senate shortly after Levy's death, estimated the value of the property so devised at $300,000. The constitutionality of this bequest gave rise to considerable discussion in the Senate. Litigation resulted in a reversion of the property to Levy's heirs (see Levy *v.* Levy, 33 N. Y. Reports, 97).

A touching story is told of Lincoln's visit to the bedside of a dying soldier of twenty-five, Lieutenant-Colonel Leopold C. Newman of the 31st New York Infantry. Newman's leg had been shattered by grapeshot in a battle near Fredericksburg, Va., early in 1863. He was carried to the National Hotel, in Washington, where, it has been asserted, Lincoln called to see him bearing with him a commission as Brigadier-General, Newman died shortly afterwards.

Mr. Simon Wolf, in his *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* tells this incident, his authority being, so he informs the writer, a soldier of Newman's command who was present at Newman's death. Colonel Frank Jones, Newman's superior officer, at present attached to the War Department, states in reply to this that he has no knowledge of Lincoln's visit or of Newman's promotion, nor do the records of the

Department show any such promotion. That Newman's advancement was at least contemplated seems quite probable, inasmuch as there appears in the *Israelite* of July 3, 1863, the statement:

> Had Newman recovered he would have received his Commission as Brigadier General *which had been already written out for him.*

The *Occident* said in its issue of September, 1864:

> One Colonel Newman of New York obtained the *honorary* title of Brigadier General after he was mortally wounded;

and in reviewing the record of Jewish soldiers shortly after the close of the war took occasion to say:

> We do not believe that more than one officer, a Lieutenant Colonel when wounded was promoted to a Brigadier General, just before his death.

Unfortunately the identity of the officer is not disclosed.

Early appreciation of Lincoln's place in history is evidenced by an incident at a festival given by the Jewish women of Pittsburg, Pa., for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission on December 9, 1863. Inspired by the recent victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, which were doubtless regarded as harbingers of early peace, Jacob Affelder offered the following toast, which was published in the *Israelite* a few days later:

> Abraham Lincoln, the noble Pilot, called by the voice of the people to the position of danger and responsibility, when traitors' hands had directed the ship of State toward the breakers of National Destruction. Nobly has he buffeted the waves of Disunion, until now with the assistance of Providence and our gallant Army and Navy he has brought us within sight of our longed for peace. His name will be synonymous with Patience, Honesty and Justice.

President Lincoln was evidently in good humor when visited by Mr. Simon Wolf with an invitation to attend the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth in 1864 by the Young Men's Literary Association of Washington. Captain Isaac N. Gotthold of the 42d New York In-

fantry accompanied him. Mr. Lincoln, says Mr. Wolf, was drinking a cup of coffee when the two called. On learning the object of their visit he said:

"Well, boys, what are you going to play?"

When he was told "Hamlet," he said:

"Why could I not be the grave digger of the evening; for am I not a fellow of infinite jest?"

"Unfortunately," says Mr. Wolf, "the President could not come, but he sent a check for $25."

For the purpose of introducing abroad certain publications from his pen bearing upon the mineral resources of the United States, Julius Silversmith, of California, an eminent metallurgist, sought the endorsement of President Lincoln. He presented letters of introduction from Governor James W. Nye, of Nevada, and United States Senator John Conness, of Oregon, both of whom assured Mr. Lincoln that Mr. Silversmith's mission was an important one, likely to induce a large immigration. They further stated that his encouragement would be highly appreciated by the loyal people of the western side of the continent. Mr. Lincoln, while not to be swerved from his usual policy of caution in dealing with strangers, endorsed Governor Nye's letter as follows:

Not personally knowing Mr. Silversmith I cheerfully endorse what Governor Nye says of him.

A. LINCOLN.

April 30, 1864.

On the letter of Senator Conness he wrote:

I do not personally know Mr. Silversmith but Senator Conness who writes the above is habitually careful not to say what he does not know.

April 30, 1864. A. LINCOLN.

The original letters above quoted are in the possession of the Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, of Albany, N. Y.

Silversmith lived in San Francisco for some years before the Civil War. In the directory of that city for 1858 his

occupation is given as "assistant teacher at the Emanu-El Institute." During 1860-61-62 he was the editor and proprietor of the *Mining and Scientific Press.* In 1866 he wrote a *Practical Hand-Book for Miners, Metallurgists and Assayers,* which is recognized as a standard work in the profession. Silversmith died in Chicago in 1894.

To Edward Rosewater belongs the distinction of having with his own hands transmitted to the world from the telegraph office of the War Department in Washington Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. He met the President twice that day and in the evening attended a ball at the White House. Rosewater came from Bohemia in 1854 at the age of thirteen. He was successively peddler, clerk and bookkeeper. At the age of eighteen he became a telegraph operator. In the Chicago *Tribune,* September 11, 1892, he tells, in an authorized interview, of a visit of the President to the War Department on December 13, 1862, Rosewater being the only telegraph operator on duty. General Burnside was at this time preparing to attack the strongly intrenched army of Lee at Fredericksburg, Va. Lincoln, evidently recalling Burnside's confessed incompetency to command the Army of the Potomac, as expressed to himself and others, and filled with forebodings of disaster, went to the telegraph office in his slippers at 8 a. m., and remained there all day. Rosewater did all the telegraphing for him, some by dictation and some from notes. The President's fears proved well-founded, Burnside's force of 100,000 men being overwhelmingly defeated with a loss of over 10,000 killed and wounded.

Rosewater was attached to the United States Military Telegraph Corps 1861-1863 and transmitted General Pope's despatches from various battlefields. He subsequently became manager of the Pacific Telegraph with headquarters in Omaha, Neb. Later he founded the Omaha *Bee,* which he conducted from 1871 to the time of his death in 1906.

The late Myer S. Isaacs, at one time judge of the Marine

Court of New York City, attended a reception at the White House in February, 1865. He was accompanied by A. S. Solomons and his daughter Zillah. This interesting account of what he saw Mr. Isaacs wrote for the *Jewish Messenger* over the signature "M."

> The President kindly assisted in the welcome and entertainment of the lady guests. We were presented and cordially greeted, Mr. Lincoln being particularly engaging in his remarks to the little daughter of the gentleman accompanying me, saying that he liked to see the children, and inquiring their names and whether he had seen them before. He is by no means so awkward as his pictures represent him; unusually tall, a head and shoulders above those around he had, of course, to stoop when speaking to most of his visitors, but his countenance strongly expressive of good nature as well as of resolution, an index of his heart, and nobody leaves the Executive Mansion without being fascinated by the kindly amiable bearing of the President. I was particularly struck with this, and in the demeanor of the numerous visitors of humble appearance, private soldiers, widows and other relatives of unfortunate or distressed members of the Union armies, whom I saw congregated in the ante-room on a subsequent day and who waited with patience and confidence their turn for an interview, many remaining there for hours, as the President's time is pretty constantly occupied, and all satisfied that their petition, however unimportant to others than themselves, would receive the gentle attention of the Chief Magistrate; and even a refusal would be couched in such kindly and winning language that their love and confidence in his goodness of heart would be diminished not at all.

With the passing years, Mr. Isaacs conceived a passionate admiration for Lincoln, seizing every occasion to extol his virtues and public record. As evidence of his earnestness and enthusiasm when discussing the war President it is interesting to note his indignation when the New York *Times*, shortly before his death, proposed the abolition of the Lincoln-Birthday holiday in that State on the ground that it was "a monument to legislative folly." This proposition elicited a scathing reply to the offending newspaper (February 20, 1903), reading as follows:

His unparalleled career from the modest Kentucky home to the White House, his devotion to country in the period of dire distress and danger, his tragic taking off, his immortal deeds, his trust in the common people, the lofty place he occupied among the leaders of men in modern times, entitle him to the distinction due only to Washington and Lincoln—setting apart his natal day, for the study and appreciation of his character and achievements, the inspiration that elevates the Nation, the lesson of a life dwelt upon wherever humanity feels sympathy for the oppressed and downtrodden and honors unselfishness and devotion.

One of the vast army of civilians attracted to Washington in the early days of the Civil War was a young Englishman, Dr. Isachar Zacharie, who had attained considerable celebrity as a skillful chiropodist. By some means he was introduced to Lincoln and very friendly relations resulted, their intimacy going so far, it is alleged, that Zacharie was entrusted with confidential missions to Savannah and New Orleans, being subsequently sent to Richmond in the rôle of peacemaker, a statement which should be accepted *cum grano salis*.

In a letter to his wife, dated Fortress Monroe, September 23, 1863, Zacharie notes his intention of leaving the following day "for Dixie," under flag of truce; for what purpose does not appear. He expresses concern about his reception by the people of the South, hopes they will listen to him, and intimates that he may be long absent. Samuel Zacharie, a son, accepts this letter as evidence of his father's visit to Richmond on behalf of President Lincoln, insists that he had interviews with Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin, but offers nothing in corroboration of his actual presence in Richmond or interviews with the Confederate leaders.

Of Dr. Zacharie's close relations with Lincoln there is little doubt. Whether these went beyond the bounds of professional intercourse cannot be determined, the only evidence of their acquaintance being a document in the handwriting of Lincoln now in the possession of the Zacharie family which reads as follows:

Dr. Zacharie has operated on my feet with great success and considerable addition to my comfort.

A. LINCOLN.

Sept. 2, 1862.

Dr. Zacharie's strong foothold in political and social circles in the National Capital was the subject of a column editorial in the New York *Herald,* October 3, 1862, under the caption "The Head and Feet of the Nation." Zacharie is described as

A wit, gourmet and eccentric, with a splendid Roman nose, fashionable whiskers and eloquent tongue, a dazzling diamond breast-pin, great skill in his profession and an ingratiating address, a perfect knowledge of his business, and a plentiful supply of social and moral courage.

Secretary Stanton, it adds, was unable to resist such a combination of eloquence when Zacharie called to see him with a proposition to treat the feet of the soldiers and he even proposed the raising of a corps of chiropodists to accompany the various armies. "Prior to that," says the *Herald,* "he had trimmed the feet of President Lincoln and all his Cabinet." After the war Dr. Zacharie resumed the practice of his profession in the city of New York, and subsequently in London. In England he founded a branch of Free Masonry, known as the Order of the Secret Monitor, in which he wielded much influence. He died in London in 1897, at the age of seventy-two, his death being extensively noticed by the American press, special prominence being given to his relations to Lincoln.

One of Lincoln's ardent admirers was a South Carolinian, Septima M. Collis, the daughter of David C. Levy, later a Philadelphia banker. She contracted a romantic marriage with Charles H. T. Collis, captain of an Independent Company known as the *Zouaves d'Afrique,* of Philadelphia, and accompanied him to the front, her experience being recorded in a little volume *A Woman's War Record.* Being presented to President Lincoln, while the Army of the Potomac was on the Rappahannock, she was struck by his curious attire. She wrote:

He wore a dress suit, his swallow tail coat being a terrible misfit, and it puzzled me very much to tell whether his shirt collar was made to stand up or turn down—it was doing a little of both.

Another Jewess who recorded her impressions of Lincoln was Rose Eytinge, the actress. Accompanied by Wallack and Davenport she went to the White House in response to an invitation from the President, who had witnessed their performance. In her *Memoirs* she makes the following record of this visit:

When I was presented to the President he took my hand, and holding it while he looked down upon me from his great height said: "So this is the little lady that all us folks in Washington like so much!" Then with a portentous shake of his head but with a twinkle in his eye, he continued, "Don't you ever come around here asking me to do some of those impossible things you women always ask for, for I would have to do it and then I would get into trouble."

At a social function Miss Eytinge relates she met Secretary Seward by whom she was not favorably impressed because "he was stately, cold and dignified, whereas she found Lincoln simple, warm-hearted and free spoken."

President Lincoln's entry into Richmond in 1865 was witnessed by Sir Moses Ezekiel the eminent sculptor, a native resident of that city, who had served in the Confederate Army. The then budding artist recognizing the President's presence in Richmond as an historic event, made at this time a close study of Lincoln. This enabled him some thirty-five years later to execute for Nathaniel Myers of New York a striking bust of the great Emancipator.

NOTE.—Additional data on the subject-matter of this monograph, not now accessible, are reserved for a future publication.